

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

PORTIONS EXEMPTED
E.O. 12065, Sec. 1-301(b)(d)
State Letter 1/1/82
NLE Date 3/12/82

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Action
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Info

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Classification

Control: 4076

Rec'd: FEBRUARY 6, 1959

6:20 P.M.

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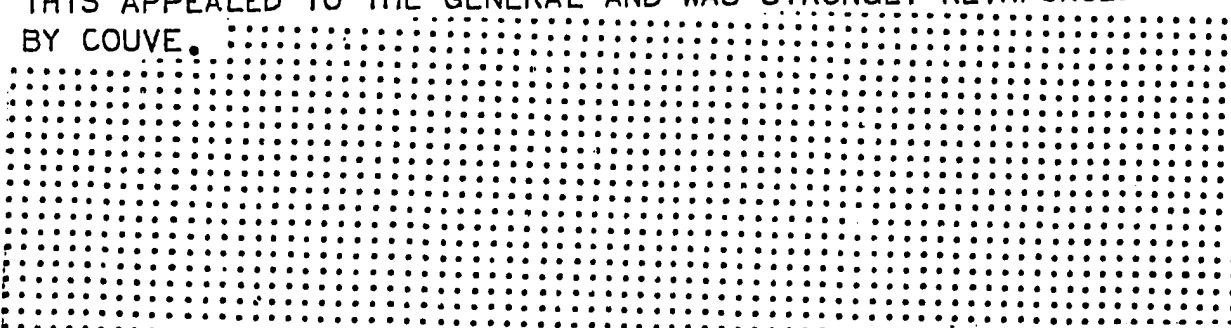
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FROM: PARIS
TO: Secretary of State
NO: DULTE 8, FEBRUARY 6, 9 P.M.

EYES ONLY ACTING SECRETARY FOR PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

WE HAD A SURPRISINGLY GOOD DAY HERE WITH THE FRENCH. WE FIRST MET WITH COUVE DE MURVILLE AT THE QUAI D'ORSAY. I OUTLINED OUR GENERAL THINKING ABOUT HANDLING THE BERLIN SITUATION AND MY VIEWS SEEMED TO COINCIDE LARGELY WITH THOSE OF THE FRENCH. THEN WE WENT TO THE ELYSEE AND MET WITH GENERAL DE GAULLE, PRIMEMINISTER DEBRE AND COUVE. WITH ONLY DEBRE, COUVE AND JOXE, WE WERE FOUR ON THE SIDE AND SAT AROUND INFORMALLY IN CHAIRS IN THE LIVING-ROOM INSTEAD OF SITTING ACROSS A TABLE..
THE ATMOSPHERE WAS RELAXED AND THE GENERAL SEEMED TO BE IN GOOD SPIRITS. WE DEVELOPED AGAIN OUR GERMAN THESIS AND FOUND ACCEPTANCE. THE FRENCH, UNLIKE THE U.K., SEEMED QUITE SPECIFIC THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT A SUBSTITUTION OF THE GDR FOR THE SOVIET UNION IN THE EXERCISE OF OUR RESERVED RIGHTS IN BERLIN AS VICTORS IN THE WAR.
I EMPHASIZED THAT WE COULD NOT PERMIT ROLES TO BE REVERSED AND THE VANQUISHED IN EFFECT RULE THE VICTORS. THIS APPEALED TO THE GENERAL AND WAS STRONGLY REINFORCED BY COUVE.



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-2- DULTE 8, FEBRUARY 6, 9 P.M., FROM PARIS

[REDACTED] THERE WAS A SLIGHT DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO THE DESIRABILITY AT THIS JUNCTURE OF GOING TO THE UNITED NATIONS. THE FRENCH ARE PRETTY GUNSHY ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS. I SAID OF COURSE WE WOULD NOT ADVOCATE GOING UNLESS WE FELT CONFIDENT THAT WE COULD GET A SOLID VOTE TO SUPPORT OUR POSITION. DE GAULLE IS FEARFUL THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD BE IN A MOOD TO COMPROMISE AND MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, CALL ON HAMMARSKJOLD TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT. I THINK THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT WHAT THERE IS GROUND FOR APPREHENSION ON THIS SCORE AND WE WOULD HAVE TO MAKE A CAREFUL COUNT OF VOTES BEFORE GOING TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

TOWARD THE CLOSE OF OUR MEETING I TOOK THE INITIATIVE IN ASKING GENERAL DE GAULLE WHETHER HE FELT THAT SOME PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE IN CARRYING OUT HIS WISHES TO HAVE TRIPARTITE POLICY DISCUSSIONS AT WASHINGTON COVERING AN AREA LARGER THAN NATO. HE INDICATED THAT HE THOUGHT PROGRESS WAS IN FACT BEING MADE, AND WHILE HE OBVIOUSLY THOUGHT THERE WAS ROOM FOR MORE PROGRESS HE MADE NO COMPLAINT. I THEN SAID THAT WE WERE SYMPATHETIC TOWARD HIS VIEW THAT THE FRENCH INTERESTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WERE SUCH THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THEIR FLEET AS AGAINST OUR SIXTH FLEET. I SAID, SO FAR AS WE WERE CONCERNED, THIS WAS A MATTER WHICH COULD BE RENEGOTIATED WITH NATO WITH A VIEW TO ACHIEVING PARITY. DE GAULLE SAID THAT THIS WAS A "VERY IMPORTANT" STATEMENT AND IT OBVIOUSLY GRATIFIED HIM.

AT THIS POINT THE ONLY SOUR NOTE WAS STRUCK BY DEBRE, WHO SAID THEY WOULD HAVE TO HAVE GREATER FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR THEIR FLEET "BECAUSE THE ALLIES WERE NOT STANDING TOGETHER IN BACKING FRANCE IN ALGERIA." THE GENERAL HIMSELF DID NOT HOWEVER RAISE THE ALGERIAN MATTER

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-3- DULTE 8, FEBRUARY 6, 9 P.M., FROM PARIS.

AND THIS WAS THE ONLY REFERENCE MADE TO IT. THIS WAS CONTRARY TO FORECASTS WHICH HAD INDICATED THAT THERE MIGHT BE A STRONG DEMAND UPON US TO SUPPORT THEM MORE VIGOROUSLY IN ALGERIA WHERE THEIR TROUBLES ARE STILL SERIOUS AND FOR THE TIME BEING MOUNTING.

THIS AFTERNOON I HAD A MEETING WITH SPAAK. I BROUGHT HIM PRETTY WELL UP TO DATE AS TO OUR THINKING. HE HIMSELF HAS BEEN DOING QUITE A LOT OF THINKING, PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE GERMAN PROBLEM AS A WHOLE. HE HAS NOT COME UPWITH ANYTHING VERY NEW OR BRILLIANT BUT I URGED HIM TO CONTINUE STUDYING THE MATTER AS WE NEEDED HIS KIND OF MIND APPLIED TO THIS PROBLEM AND HE HAD SOME ADVANTAGES OVER GOVERNMENTS.

[REDACTED]

TOMORROW MORNING I GO ON TO BONN. THERE SEEMS TO BE AGREEMENT BOTH IN LONDON AND IN PARIS THAT THE CHANCELLOR IS PRETTY MUCH OUT OF TOUCH WITH HIS ADVISERS AND WITH CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, AND BOTH THE BRITISH AND THE FRENCH AND SPAAK ARE HOPEFUL THAT I MAY BE ABLE TO BRING HIM TO SEE POSSIBILITIES IN THE SITUATION TO WHICH HE IS NOW BLIND. HOWEVER, THESE POSSIBILITIES ARE NOT SO BRILLIANT ~~AND~~ THAT I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THEY HAVE MUCH PENETRATING POWER. AS SPAAK SAID, A GREAT DEAL IS TO BE SAID IN FAVOR OF THE STATUS QUO. ALMOST ANY CHANGE WOULD BE A CHANGE FOR THE WORSE AND WOULD OPEN UP SERIOUS PROBLEMS. I DO NOT THINK, HOWEVER, NOR DOES HE, THAT THAT IS A POSITION WHICH WE CAN TAKE PUBLICLY AND COMMAND THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC OPINION.

FAITHFULLY YOURS,
FOSTER
UE/23

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